6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

monies in which visiting dignitaries were given an Indian name and adopted, symbolically, into the Blackfeet tribe. If any family conducted a memorial service for a deceased relative, or staged a give-away to honor visitors, he was called upon to be the crier. As crier he announced the import of the ceremony, led in chanting the proper song, or cried out the occasion for the give-away and called out the names of those to be honored with a gift.

In years past he had been employed by the Great Northern Railway as an official greeter of tourists arriving by train at Glacier Park, and as an entertainer at the inns within the Park where he and his friends staged Indian dances for the tourists.

Buffalo Heart, with others of his peers, had a place on the Honorary Tribal Council, and was given a small per diem for attendance at tribal council meetings. He was often chosen to accompany council members on trips to Washington, D.C. for the purpose of lobbying for or against proposed legislation which would affect Indians. In his regalia he furnished a bit of Indian color, as well as advice, to the proceedings.

Buffalo Heart and his fellow members of the Honorary Council felt that they represented the voice of the full-blood portion of the tribe and took every occasion to make long speeches in Blackfeet, urging harmony and trust, and asking for more attention to the needs of the people. But people paid little attention to the speeches; instead they talked, moved about, and impatiently filled in time until the Honorary Councilmen had had their say. On several occasions councilmen told the interpreter: "Tell him to make it short." The people in general felt some pride in their old-timers, but mixed this with a feeling of impatience and bare tolerance when the chiefs seemed to be taking themselves too seriously.

Buffalo Heart, and the others like him, usually lived among clusters of full-bloods in the more run-down areas of town, in small outlying communities, or, in a few cases, in more remote areas of the reservation. Buffalo Heart lived in a small two-room shack on Moccasin Flat, an area of shacks and cabins without sewer or water service, on the edge of Browning. The houses immediately surrounding his were occupied by some of his kin—a married son and his family, two married daughters and their families, and the family group of his brother.

The old man's home was the center for Indian gatherings. Here he and his friends conducted the religious rituals, bundle openings, and other ceremonies they wished to celebrate. Those who were singers would gather here occasionally for a song service—a meeting where they would drum and sing old and new songs. Buffalo Heart served as a tie to the old days, a source of information on lore and ritual, and an available medicine man for those who wished an Indian cure. The younger members of his family might participate in these functions, but usually just watched with a respectful air. As one family member said: "You join in even if you don't believe—it's part of the old Indian ways."

Buffalo Heart, however, was more than a man of the past. He was a medicine man and conducted curing ceremonies, yet he and those whom he had cured more often availed themselves of the services of the local doctors and hospital. Buffalo Heart was known as a Catholic and attended church occasionally, yet he was also considered to be a repository for, and a leader in, the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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The drummers and part of the crowd at the North American Indian Days Celebration.

practice of the Indian religion. How did he combine or compartmentalize these two beliefs? Did he perceive the Catholic ritual as a modern means for expressing Indian beliefs? The priest, it was said, was perplexed by these questions.

There were varying perceptions of Buffalo Heart among the tribal members. Some would speak respectfully of him: "He is one of the chiefs, one of *our* people and looks after us." Others chose to praise another and saw Buffalo Heart as an old codger who had no right to the name of chief. The other chiefs might also dismiss his tales of the past and his religious knowledge as "lies." "He doesn't know anything. The truth is. . . ." So Buffalo Heart was a prophet and honored person to some, the butt of jokes to others, and, it must be noted, the judgments varied according to the situation and the person to whom the remarks were addressed. Nonetheless, this man was given a role to play, a role with limits im-

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

8: All in Fun

THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS were a far cry from those strong, silent, dead-pan caricatures of Indians commonly portrayed in the white man's western fiction and his motion pictures and television programs. They were really a fun-loving people who enjoyed funny stories, practical jokes, and a wide variety of games and sports. It is significant that they looked upon Old Man not only as the creator but as a humorous little fellow who went around trying to play tricks on people and animals and whose tricks sometimes backfired. Many Napi stories are not only funny, but obscene.[1]

The Blackfeet loved to poke fun at strangers, especially members of other bands. When a number of men gathered in a lodge to welcome a guest it was common for some of them to make indecent remarks about him. Should the guest appear annoyed at their jibes, they only intensified their efforts. It was the host's duty to prevent the joking from going too far. One Piegan band was noted for annoying visitors by a mock family row. The host began a quarrel with his wife. Neighbors rushed in and took the woman's part. In the general row which followed all fell upon the guest and roughed him up without doing him any serious injury.[2]

[1] Clark Wissler and D. C. Duvall, "Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. II, Part 1. A selection of Napi stories appears on pages 19–39.

[2] Clark Wissler, "The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. VII, 53.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

9: The Old Time Religion

761 THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS lived in a world of uncertainty. Their lives were plagued by the fear of death from starvation, from sickness, or at the hands of their many human enemies. If they had less cause to fear starvation in the middle of the nineteenth century than had their prehistoric ancestors, they had more reason to fear sickness. Their old men and women could recall the disastrous losses their tribes had suffered in two smallpox epidemics. They were still surrounded by hostile tribes, any of which might send a mobile raiding party against one of their isolated hunting camps without warning.

776 Yet the Blackfeet did not face these dangers alone. They believed they were surrounded by supernatural powers much stronger than human ones which they could call upon for protection from evil influences and to aid them in their own undertakings. These powers resided in the skies and in the waters, as well as on land. Sun and thunder were the most powerful sky spirits. Beaver and otter were potent underwater ones. Buffalo, bears, elk, horses, snakes, eagles, crows, and other animals and birds of the Blackfoot country also could communicate their powers to humans.

787 Supernatural power invariably was given to men in dreams. Rarely did a man experience a dream of power while he was sleeping at home in the lodge of his family. Dreams of power did come to some young men when they were alone and separated from fellow members of a war party. But more commonly

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

feast and prepared the seeds by mixing them with deer, antelope, and mountain sheep dung, sarvis berries, and water. The soil was readied for planting by spreading brush over the field, burning the brush, and sweeping the ground with brush brooms. Each planter and his wife then dug a small plot about three feet square with a digging stick, dropped tobacco seeds in the holes, and covered them.

The beaver men believed the tobacco spirits were dwarfs no more than a foot high. Before leaving the garden for the summer hunt, each planter placed a little crooked stick in the center of his plot. Tied to this stick were a miniature pair of moccasins and a tiny pouch containing tobacco seeds—gifts to the "little people." In fall when the tobacco was ripe for harvest, the nomadic Indians returned to their little tobacco garden. The beaver man again performed his ritual before the tobacco was harvested.

Another type of medicine bundle which was of respectable age and great importance to the Blackfoot tribes was the medicine pipe. David Thompson learned of the medicine pipe among the Piegans before 1800. Alexander Henry, in 1809, was told of the Blackfoot belief that the medicine pipe was a gift from the thunder.

> Thunder is a man who was very wicked and troublesome to the Indians, killing men and beasts in great numbers. But many years ago he made peace with the Blackfeet, and gave them a pipestem in token of his friendship; since which period he has been harmless.[5]

In 1943, Makes-Cold-Weather, an elderly Piegan Indian, transferred his Blood Medicine Pipe to me for the collections of the Museum of the Plains Indian. At that time he recited the following legend of the origin of the medicine pipe:

« « « In the fall of the year three sisters went to pick berries on some hills near their camp. A storm came up quickly, and hail began

[5] Henry and Thompson, *New Light*, II, 366.

824 [825] been able to review this with him. He said that the cutting of small trees was sanctified with fire originating from a sweet grass lighter.

TOBACCO

Nicotiana multivalvis

276 746 182 Smoking was an important part of Blackfoot ritual: like the communal meal, it tended to emphasize the inclusiveness of those partaking.

575 249 796 Traditionally, the native tobacco (Nicotiana multivalvis) was ceremonially planted and harvested by members of a North Blackfoot society known as the Tobacco society (Fig. 4). (It is noteworthy that this society was not a [184] [561] part of the age-graded system and that it was maintained only by the North Blackfoot.) For about a week, each spring, members gathered at the sacred planting-grounds. Elaborate ceremonies accompanied the sowing. The tobacco [237] [445] seed, with fertilizer, had been stored through the winter in pericardium containers of the society's Tobacco bundles. (The same bundle, less certain paraphernalia, was alternately called the Beaver bundle.)

249 [782] [784] [786] [776] Between the period of planting and harvesting, taboos prevented anyone from visiting the plots, because the young plants were being tended by supernatural Small People, who did their gardening in return for offerings of miniature apparel, which had been left at the close of the planting ceremony (Fig. 5).

824 778 276 [249] At harvest, in the fall, the seed was used to replenish the bundle supplies, and the leaves were distributed to the appropriate claimants, who in turn later distributed leaves to the other divisions of the tribe. The tobacco usually was mixed with the leaves of kinnikinnik (Arctos-taphylos uva-ursi) or the dried cambium or red-osier dogwood (Cornus stolonifera). The mixtures were included with all religious bundles---either in the bundle proper or in a preliminary bundle.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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Fig. 5 -- Miniature apparel left as offerings at the planting grounds of the Tobacco Society. (North Blackfoot). Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Ethnology Department. Catalogue No. AF 1985.

575 824 778 we have found fir needles in the initiation bundles of the Horn Society. We were told that the needles were mixed with the dry paint to make it smell better. Fir needles also were chewed and then sprayed over the Horn [783] ceremonial containers to purify them.

[783] Fir needles were used as incense during the transfer ceremonies of the Black Spring tipi design and the Bear Medicine Hat bundle.

PUFFBALLS

Lycoperdon spp.

824 The prairie puffball (a fungus) figured in Blackfoot religious life. The Blackfoot name for it is ka-ka-toos ("less powerful"), which implies that puffballs are stars fallen to earth during supernatural events.

[776] There is a story about the woman who married Morning Star and had a child by this supernatural being. When she returned to earth with the Natoas bundles and her child she was directed by the star-personage to keep her baby from touching the ground for fourteen days. She managed all right until the day she went for wood and left the child in the care of a grandmother. The grandmother was careless, and the baby touched the ground. It turned into a large puffball and returned to the heavens as the Fixed Star (North Star), plugging the hole left by the woman when she pulled out the Holy Turnip.

[782] [775] [372] [342] [532] Lycoperdon and other fungus, Polyporus, were used as incense to keep ghosts away. They were also included in the Firelighters bundle of the Horn Society for use as a kind of punk to light a fire easily. On certain painted lodges (for example the Otter lodge, shown in Fig. 20), the small circles at the base of the tipi represented the puffball (not lakes as is commonly thought), which insured fire to those within.

000 LUPINES

Lupinus spp.

824 tradition, that would enable him to run long distances---more than twenty
783 miles a day, we were told. The runner wore special moccasins, which were
224 transferable annually.
[292]

824 Balsam root was used as incense during the Planting ceremonies of the
782 Tobacco Society (North Blackfoot). A horse was encouraged to stand near a
[776] smudge of ohm-sh-gaha. Then a rider leapt on the horse and galloped across the planting-grounds, stopping only to deposit small offerings to the Small People.

[778] The root of ohm-sh-gaha was used as incense for the Crow-feather headpiece
[292] during the transfer ceremony of the Beaver bundle. (Fig. 26).

128 This completes the Annotated List of Plants in Part I. The remainder of the paper consists of a List of Bundles and Religious Artifacts Associated with the use of Sweet Grass.

Part III

PLANTS USED IN THE TREATMENT OF SICKNESS

Overview

755 [757] The Blackfoot practised two kinds of medicine, one of which was distinguished by its reliance on divination. The other consisted of common remedies which were available to all.

[462] [711] [756] There was a general procedure in the divination of disease and there is evidence to show that there were as many women diviners as men. (Although it is common practice among anthropologists to denote this kind of ritual curing as shamanism, we take exception to that in using the term divination, as we believe that shamanism as practised in the Tibetan sense, does not apply to the medical treatment of the Plains Indians).

787 [785] In order to obtain power for the purpose of curing an individual would undertake a vision quest which involved prolonged isolation and fasting.

[774] [778] If the quest was successful, the source of power, usually a spiritual being in animal form would instruct him in the songs, ritual and construction [554] of the curing bundle. There are many variations of the titles of men who have received power, a common one among the Blood Indians is "natoosi - inaipi" or "sun comes down" another given to us by G.B. Grinell was used among the south Peigans, "i-so-kin-uh-kin" or "heavy singer for the sick".

756 422 778 124 These bundles remained the personal property of the diviner and could not be transferred. Indeed, the source of power was not to be revealed to anyone. We have only been able to obtain an account of this vision quest from one diviner who has stopped practising. Other informants have given important information of the patterns of divining disease but have with-held their own source of power.

[p.62]

and seen that our fireplaces in the centers of our tipis were surrounded by circles of stones, and that around the fireplaces our People were seated in circles. As each of these circles had no beginning and no end, so we were reminded that the Great Spirit of the Universe has no beginning and no end. 354 771

We were gathered together in the circle encampment to sing and pray and dance in many ceremonies. The ceremonies were to remind us of all the Spirits that gave us the Powers to live during the seasons since our last sacred gathering. Our songs were of the birds and animals, of the People and mountains, of the trees and flowers, of the sky and Sun. Especially of Sun! Sun is our constant reminder of the endless Power of the Universe. Sun is our father. The warm love that he sends to our Mother, Earth, brings life and makes everything grow. It is the same warm love that Sun provided for Earth in the times of our grandfathers and their grandfathers. Our prayers to Sun give us the same Holy Power he gave them in long-ago times. It is that endless Holy Power of the Universe that we refer to as *Natojewa*. It is our godhead and our Great Spirit. 771 776

To the Blood People the Belly Buttes are Natojewa; they are our Holy Land. Every year thousands of tourists speed through this land on 778 823

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5A)

[p. 4A]

their way to Waterton and Banff National Parks or to the famous Calgary Stampede in Canada. Yet there are areas far enough away from the speeding traffic for the Belly Buttes to remain the isolated center of the Holy Spirit among the Blood People.

The Power of the Buttes is felt by all who go near them, even when there is no encampment in progress. One winter a desperate family searched an old Sun Dance campsite for firewood, which is scarce out on the prairie. This family discovered they were using the fallen log of the sacred Center Pole for fuel when they were awakened during a cold night by an unseen Power singing the holy Center Pole songs in a loud voice. Another time, an enterprising rancher from our reserve began to fence in the Buttes so that his cattle could graze there. But he was discouraged from building his fence when strange sensations overtook him; older relatives reminded him that Holy Spirits must not be disturbed without some sacrifice.

□

In 1972 the Sun Dance Encampment was located near the edge of the flat that overlooks the tree- and brush-lined Belly River bottoms. As the flat rises up from the river, the Belly Buttes rise up from the flat, farther to the east. It is in those Buttes that many men have gone to find their visions and Spirit helpers. Bears lived there not long ago. Today, eagles sometimes build their nests there, and mountain lions cross tracks with porcupines and coyotes. In some of the many caves and crevices are now the final resting places of those Old People who passed away after laws were made forbidding the traditional practice of placing bodies near to the Spirit World on top of scaffolds or in branches of trees.

It was still morning when we arrived at the campground with our outfit. Our spiritual grandparents, Mokakin and Ponah, pointed out a vacant spot next to their tipi where they thought we should camp. Mokakin, who was attending his

the outside of the main bundle or slung over the horse's back. Sacred Bundles were carried only on a special horse and travois. Usually no one but the Bundle's Owner could ride such a horse. Nor was that horse used to carry meat. This was to keep the Spirit of the animal pure and clean for its holy duties.

The seven vowing Okan women and their families were among the first to arrive at the camp circle. They pitched their tipis closer to the center of the circle than the others. Cottonwood boughs were piled up outside against the base of their tipis. In this way, people would know that these tipis were sitting holy and should not be disturbed. The green leaves hiding the bottoms of the tipis of these holy women served as spiritual guards for those who were within. Children were taught not to play nearby, lest they disturb the holy thoughts inside.

Dried tongue is the meal of communion during the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred tongues must be dried and prepared beforehand in the spring so that everyone in the camp can share in this communion. The tongues, symbols of the natural foods of the buffalo as well as the main foods of our People, represent the Spirits of buffalo.

Traditionally, buffalo tongues were brought to the vowing holy woman by generous hunters. With the help of her family, she dried and stored them in preparation for the holy ceremony. But by 1892, beef had replaced buffalo in the diets of our People, so beef tongues were used instead. (The last buffalo killed by our People—around the year

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24A]

[p. 23-A]

moose hooves is tied to the stick. The hooves and stick symbolize our Old People's main foods—meat and roots. They also represent two of the spiritual helpers who are said to have contributed their Powers to the original Natoas. The meanings of these items were revealed in a dream to a Beaver Bundle man who kept the original Natoas. 796 795 778 [237] [262] [787]

The holy woman's sacred headdress is the most important item in the rawhide case. Like our other tribal Medicines of ancient origin, this one is made up of things symbolic of the natural world. The base of the headdress is a rawhide band of buffalo skin, shaped like a lizard. Plumes and feathers of eagles and other birds are fastened to it so that they stand up. Skins of weasels are attached so that they hang down, and an ancient arrowhead hangs from one side. A tiny image-doll stuffed with sacred tobacco seeds is attached to the rawhide band to represent mystical Spirits known as the Little People. Back when our Old People still grew sacred tobacco, the Little People would mysteriously come and give it their Power to be sacred. [292] [237] [531] [532] [776]

Wilson made these observations during the transfer ceremonies of these sacred headdresses:

Simultaneously, the initiation rite was performed in '92 in all four of the lodges. I witnessed that in which three women were initiated at once in Running Wolf's lodge. The front had been enclosed and poles of the lodge had been spread far apart and a second lodge pitched in front, so 796 793 [346]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27]
[p. 26-A]

and woman in the row of O-Kons and then to everyone sitting outside. Great rows of people were sitting in a half circle on either side of the shelter. Each person to whom the pipe was presented took 4 draws only. These sacred pipes were always passed a long time after they had ceased to emit smoke. They seemed to go out before many people had smoked. 796 276 778

As is the case with our People now, anyone in camp could make an offering, a symbolic gift to the Holy Spirits—to Sun, Moon, sky, stars, birds, animals. The offering would be brought to the holy people by a family member. At this stage of the Medicine Lodge ceremony, these holy people were thought to be in strong communication with the Spirits. Each person bringing an offering selected one of the holy people waiting in the Sun shelter for this purpose. The chosen holy person would then pray to the Spirits on behalf of the offerer. Later, all the offerings would be brought to the Medicine Lodge and tied, permanently, to the lodge's Center Pole. 796 793 782 [776]

Families keeping the tribe's sacred Medicine Pipes and Beaver Bundles had the opportunity for an unusual and powerful spiritual experience during the Medicine Lodge ceremony. Only at this time were these sacred Pipes fitted with bowls for smoking; at no other time were they smoked. The Owners of the sacred Pipes gathered their families inside their lodges. Usually, past Owners were present, especially if the current Owner did not know the Bundle's songs very well. There are songs to sing while opening the Bundle and many more songs to sing afterwards, when the People pray and dance with its contents. 796 778 276 [533]

After incense was made, the leader of the opening painted the Owner's family with Medicine Pipe symbols on their faces and wrists. The sacred Pipestem was taken from its cloth wrapping and carefully laid on top of the Bundle. At this point the sacred Bowl was removed from the Bundle and filled with ceremonial tobacco. With [302] [782]

LEGENDS OF NAPI

Our second evening of the encampment at the Belly Buttes was beginning. We were in a mood to hear some old-time stories, so we decided to visit Mokakin and see if we could inspire him to tell us some. It is a tradition among our People that myths and legends should be told only at nighttime. It is said that early blindness comes to those who disobey this custom.

Stories of war and adventure have always been popular among our People, especially the men. Women and children, too, have their favorites. But the most well liked of all are the stories of our legendary Napi, or Old Man, whose mythical experiences are exciting and occasionally gruesome. Some of the most popular of them are obscene.

The word *Napi* is used in a number of ways in the Blackfoot language. It can mean "friend," if the *a* is pronounced "ah" and the *i* is drawn out properly. A common greeting among acquaintances, for instance, is, "*Oki, Napih.*" It may also be used to greet an old man, if the word is pronounced with a longer "ah" and a very short *i*. This generally refers to a very old man. A man just old would be more commonly called *Omach-Kinna*, which means something like "big-aged man." Napi is pronounced with a short *i* when it is used to refer to the Old Man of legend. Finally, many of our People refer to our holy Sun as Napi, or Old Man, in their prayers. Because of this and the stories about Napi creating our part of the world, many observers have written that our People thought of Napi as God and prayed to him. Long, long ago, it is likely that our People believed that in the Sun was the spirit of an Old Man, to whom they gave thanks for the beginning of Earth. But the Napi of our myths and legends is a humorous prankster and trouble-maker. He is not the Napi referred to in our prayers.

[p. 51-A]

Bundles lost or sold, the painted designs on our tipis are the same ones our oldest living People saw when they lived in the circle camps as children.

In the days when the first white men came to visit our People, tipis were made of buffalo hides and designs were painted with natural colors, usually various shades of our Mother Earth. From her comes the sacred red paint we apply to our faces, bodies, and holy objects, as well as our tipis. The red paint represents our Earth Mother, the blood within our bodies, and also the color of our Father, Sun, in the morning and evening.

There are many types and shades of red earth, but only two kinds are used for sacred purposes. One is *Nitsisahni*, or "real paint," which is fairly bright red and the most commonly used shade. The other red paint is called the "seventh paint," because it is most often used in Medicine Pipe ceremonies where the number seven is sacred. Darker than real paint, it contains a substance that gives it a greasy feel and a shiny appearance. The Old People say that if sacred paint is not gathered properly with many prayers and good thoughts, it will turn into plain dirt before it can be used.

Other sacred paint colors include black, usually made from powdered charcoal; yellow, made

[p. 67-B]

from a clay, though it used to be made from buffalo gallstones; and green, made from a certain type of algae. 386 778 [237]

In the Old Days, these natural colors were mixed with water and animal fat to form the paint that was applied to tipi covers. Brushes were made from buffalo bones. The bone was cut at one end, so that its pores were exposed to form the tip of the brush. These pores held the thick paint quite well. The natural paints had to be rubbed into the lodge covers very thoroughly, or else they would run with each rainfall. Even so, the natural colors tended to fade very quickly from constant exposure to the elements. Nowadays, we use the somewhat organic combination of oil paint and linseed oil, which has proved to be effective and durable. [824] 532 [237] [413] [178]

Painted tipis are usually given up as an offering whenever a new cover is made, as there should never be two copies of the same cover. The old cover is either offered to the Underwater Spirits by sinking it with rocks into a lake, or offered to Sun by leaving it weighed down by rocks out on the prairie. 782 532 342

Nevertheless, occasionally two or more covers having the same design can be found. In some cases, they represent similar dreams by different people. In other cases, they indicate a design not ceremonially transferred but inherited, and probably looked upon as a family heirloom or coat-of-arms to be reproduced in new tipi covers—usually by younger people unaware that they should not copy the design. And then there are those who know better, yet copy original designs on new covers and sell them to museums and collectors of "Indian relics." Finally, so-called Indian enthusiasts also contribute to the existence of multiple copies of the same design, when they make painstakingly precise but nonspiritual representations of some old design for their own tipis. 432 532 342 [787] [424] [428]

The Spirit of the Otter has inspired more designs than any other spiritual power. Our own Otter Tipi was one of four similar ones at last 532 342 [776]

[p. 68-A]

will usually appear on the south side of the lodge, the female on the north. Sex is depicted either by sex organs, minor color changes, or by horns. The placement of the sexes on the outside of the tipis is, by custom, opposite that of the persons seated inside, as the place for women seated inside a tipi is on the south, and for men, on the north. Perhaps this originally signified some spiritual relationship between the lodge's spiritual guardians and its occupants. If so, this symbolism was probably lost when the People no longer lived a daily life in harmony with nature.

As few as one pair or as many as four pairs of animals are painted in the center band. The animals usually have "lifelines" representing the major organs. A lifeline begins at the mouth and is drawn in sections of red and green. It runs to the heart, which is painted red. Two green circles toward the animal's rear represent the kidneys.

The basic color of the large central area is most often red or yellow, and less often brown, green, blue, or the basic white of the cover material itself. If the original owner was taken into water during the dream in which he was given the design, the background color is usually yellow. If the dream occurred on land, the color is most often red or brown. Designs given by birds or other Spirits from above most often are white or blue.

Tipis without a symbolic representation of the dream animal's home will have instead one of two other symbols drawn in the back. The most common is a circle for the spiritual center of the universe. Sometimes the symbol is like a bull's-eye, several concentric circles representing Sun, Moon, and Earth.

The area at the top is usually painted black for Night Sky, when dreams are most common. In the back of this part of the tipi, a Maltese cross is usually painted in yellow or orange, representing either Morning Star or a moth. The moth flies at night and is considered to be the bearer of good dreams. To inspire good dreams about buf-

[p. 72-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Sacred objects from a Beaver Bundle. The rawhide bowl has a willow hoop around its opening. It was used to serve the sacred soup during the planting ceremonies of the sacred tobacco, which Beaver Men used to lead. In the bowl are a bunch of dried serviceberries. The two digging sticks were used to make the holes for the sacred seeds. Offerings of tiny moccasins are tied to one stick for the Tobacco Spirits. The Iniskim, or sacred stone, at the right, was often left nearby the sacred plants for protection. Sacred Tobacco was last planted by the Bloods around 1871.

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[P.99-B]

keep the sacred objects bundled up so that their spiritual powers will only be used in the proper sacred way. 778

The main object in every Medicine Pipe Bundle is the sacred Stem. Like exceptionally long regular pipestems, they have a straight hole beginning at the carved mouthpiece and ending at the carved bowl-fitting. Sacred Pipes are very handsomely decorated, with many black-and-white ermine tails, black-and-white eagle feathers, eagle plumes, other feathers, and beads, bells, and porcupine quills. They are kept in long, tubular cases of red, blue, or black wool stroud cloth, the kind with the white selvedges brought to our People by traders of the long-ago. These cloth covers replaced the original buckskin covers as they wore out. 778 276 [531] [237] [415]

Spiritually, the sacred Stems represent all the Holy Powers of the Universe. They were first given by Thunder, who embodies the rain-water that helps to make everything grow. The wood stems represent all the plants that grow upon Earth; the eagle tailfeathers represent all the Above Powers, including all the birds, the eagle being the most Powerful among them; the ermine skins stand for all the Below Powers, including the animals that walk on Earth; and the beads and bells symbolize all the goodness and beauty of the Universe. The sacred Stems are attached to stone bowls that represent the strength of our Earth Mother. Her Spirit travels in the form of smoke along the long and straight path of the sacred Stem, into the body of the smoker, and as he exhales it, up into the air that flows throughout the Universe. The physical appearance of a sacred Pipe represents all the holy beauty that can be found if one lives by its holy Ways. 778 776 276 824 825 [823]

No one knows exactly how many sacred Pipes were made among our People throughout the ages, but there were probably no more than a few dozen. Shortly after 1900, Clark Wissler made an extensive study and concluded that there were "something more than seventeen" Medicine 778 276

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[776]

taken north and now it is a white man's Pipe. But my old Pipe, it has a lot of Spirits; I'm sure that it hears me talking about it right now.

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That Pipe belonged to me two times. The first time it was transferred to me. The second time, it was returned to me after the death of the person I transferred it to. We went to his mother [old Mrs. Day Rider] to pay our respects. She is a relative of ours. Mrs. Day Rider came over and kissed me, and she was crying. She said, "Oki, Big Snake, go get your Pipe. You don't have to pay on it, just get painted for it again." I didn't say anything. I just looked at her. My brothers, Jack and Jim Low Horn, they told me, "Why aren't you talking? It's your Pipe. Take it. It won't be good for it to be around a sad place."

[768]

After the funeral I went to her house. She was walking outside, crying. She just pointed to the house. I went inside and I hugged my Pipe. I told it that a sad thing happened to it because its Owner died. I took it and started home. That's why I had it a second time.

THE LONG-TIME PIPE

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Some of our People think that the Long-Time Pipe was in the Bundle originally given by Thunder. They call the Long-Time Medicine Pipe *Mesam-Achkuineman*. Our People hold that Bundle in special reverence; its Owners are often chiefs.

[622]

The earliest-known Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was Grey Broad Head. He was remembered by a much later Owner, Stephen Fox, who died not long ago near the age of one hundred. Stephen Fox was still a young man when he met Grey Broad Head, who was then about one hundred himself. This man attributed his old age to the Power he got while keeping the Long-Time Pipe. He told Stephen Fox that his payments for the Pipe included fifty dogs. That was back when our People relied on dogs for help in moving camp and packing meat.

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[492]
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[p. 147-A]

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

Then, while we sat waiting for the others to arrive, Atsitsina asked the Old Man, "Omach-Kinna [Old Man], why don't you tell our grandson the secret for reaching old age? Maybe he will tell me, and then I will become as old as you are." 886

The Old Man kept looking at the altar for a time, then he began to speak: 791 787 852

My parents took me to an old holy woman who had a lot of Power. She was the one who foresaw that I would reach old age. Her name was Otter Woman. She told my parents, "This boy will reach old age. I have foreseen it. But he will have to face a test right now to prove that he is the right one. Do you wish to risk his life to have him meet this test?" My parents had a lot of faith in that old woman's Power, so they told her, "Yes, go ahead."

I was only about five months old when all this took place. The old woman began by piercing my ears with porcupine quills. Next, she buried me under the earth; I was not told how deep, but she must have left my face free so that I could keep breathing. Then she built a fire of dry cottonwood sticks over my body. She told my parents that the Earth Powers would protect me from harm if I was the one in her dreams. No harm came to me. Then she bundled me up in blankets and tied me into the branches of a tree. She and my parents stood below and mourned for me as though I were dead. She told them that from then on, the Spirits of death would be satisfied and would not come to bother me with misfortune. When they brought me down from the tree she told my parents, "This boy has proved that he is the one who will have the Powers I saw in my dream. He will belong to Sun from now on. Sun will care for him and he will have the Power to help his People." [237] [372] [824] [776]

Then the old woman prayed: "Sun, I give you this boy so that you will guide him like I 791 852 304 782 787

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Piegan, since Henry was among the Northern Blackfoot (from whom our version was obtained), and Maclean seems to have secured his data from the Bloods. That the Blackfoot formerly had a well-defined creation myth, in which the Old Man took the initiative in producing and transforming the world, is indicated by several writers. Those noted above give more or less in detail a running account of the peopling of the earth and the instruction of mankind in the art of living. While these incidents do not occur in detail in the Old Man myths recorded in this paper, they are occasionally implied. Such origins are at present often assigned to the Old Man without the formality of a myth. It will be noted that the greater part of the tales collected by us recite the absurd, humorous, obscene, and brutal incidents in the Old Man's career. No ritualistic or ceremonial practices appear to be based upon any of these narratives, though it may have been otherwise in the past. On the other hand, connected with them are the suggestions of origins for many aspects of material culture, such as the buffalo-drive, the making of weapons, methods of dressing skins, etc. A considerable number of places and topographical features were associated with his adventures; as Old Man's River, Tongue Flag River, Old Man's Gambling-Place, Old Man's Sliding-Place, Rolling-Stone Creek, etc. In fact, there seems a tendency to give all of his adventures a definite location in what is now Alberta.

From the accounts of all observers, it appears that confusion exists in assigning some myths. Thus Grinnell records as adventures of the Old Man our myths containing the incident of the dog and the stick (p. 52), the placing of the crow in the smoke-hole (p. 51), the woman with a snake-lover (p. 150), and the rolling head (p. 154). We found differences of opinion on these and other tales, but have in our list the ones rarely if ever challenged. Taking into consideration all the data at hand, we are of the opinion that there has been a disintegration of the creative and cultural origin myths concerning the Old Man. This opinion is partly based upon the agreement of these myths with those attributed to similar characters among the Cree, Ojibwa, Fox, and other divisions of the Algonkin stock, for which a common origin is assumed, and also partly on the present attitude of the Blackfoot themselves toward these myths.

For several decades at least, the Blackfoot have considered the Old Man as an evil character, in most respects trivial, who long ago passed on to other countries. Whenever the writer asked if the Old Man was ever prayed to, the absurdity of the question provoked merriment. The usual reply was, that no one had enough confidence in him to make such an appeal. In daily conversation his name is often used as a synonyme for immorality. However, it must not be implied that he is regarded as an evil spirit. His

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

name is especially associated with things obscene, and pertaining to sexual immorality. I have heard the Piegan say that so and so "must be trying to be like the Old Man; he cannot be trusted with women."

We have occasionally noted a tendency to assign modern obscene anecdotes to this character, and it may well be that many of the tales long attributed to him have been accumulated by the laws of association. The unfortunate human tendency to appreciate keenly the humor in such anecdotes seems sufficient to account for their survival and accumulation long after belief in and respect for the Old Man as a creator, teacher, and transformer, has passed the verge of extinction.

Certain differences of opinion among former observers make it desirable to reconsider our assumption that these myths are survivals from a much larger group constituting the ancient basic beliefs of the Blackfoot. The first account we find bearing upon this point was written by Alexander Henry in 1809.[1] He speaks of "one first great white man and his wife" to whom all things are due, but states that he went to live in the sun and is called Nah-toos, while his wife went to the moon. Unfortunately, Henry is not sufficiently specific for the identification of the "one first great white man." Among the present Blackfoot people, Natos refers to the Sun-Man, whose consort is the Moon-Woman, a character regarded as distinct from the Old Man. The term used by Henry is probably a translation; for, in his comparative vocabularies, "Nappeekoon" is given as the equivalent of "white man," the term still applied to members of our race. This of itself makes it probable that Napiw[a] is the character referred to in the above.

Later, about 1874, R. P. Lacombe writes that Napiw[a] went to live in the Sun.[2] M. Lacombe is quoted by Hale (1885) to the effect that Napiw[a] and Natos are distinct, and that the former is a secondary character.[3] Maclean also states that Napiw[a] is a secondary character.[4] Grinnell (1892) expresses the opinion that Napiw[a] and Natos are the same and that the latter is a more recent conception.[5] It is of interest to note that the earlier writers are disposed to treat Natos, the Sun, as the home of the Old Man, while the later ones make each a character. My own information is emphatic in indicating a present distinction between the two. This is supported by the following statement from a man for many years an interested observer of Blackfoot customs: —

"The Sun is then the principal deity. . . . Equally erroneous is the view that they addressed prayers to, or in any manner worshipped, 'Napi,' the Old Man of the legends, the blunderer, the immoral mischief-maker."[6]

[1] New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, op. cit., pp. 327, 328.
[2] Petitot, op. cit., p. 504.
[3] Hale, op. cit., p. 704.
[4] Canadian Savage Folk, p. 52.
[5] Grinnell, op. cit., p. 253.
[6] R. N. Wilson, Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1893, p. 788.

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

There are several obvious ways in which the different statements recorded above can be interpreted. It may be reasonable to assume that the later writers were better informed, and therefore able to distinguish between two mythical characters having some things in common. On the other hand, the observations may be of equal weight, and so represent a change of belief. While the means are not at hand for the solution of this question, it may be noted that the myths so far recorded are quite consistent with the modern Blackfoot belief that Napiw^{a} and Natos are distinct characters. For example, in Grinnell's version of the theft of the fire-leggings, Napiw^{a} steals them from Natos. Again, the Old Woman, or Moon-Woman, is practically always associated with Natos as his respected and honored consort; while mention of such a character seldom occurs in the myths of the Old Man group. Further, in ceremonies Natos is often addressed as Napiwa, but, so it was stated to us, in the sense of old and venerable man. This suggests that the sole difficulty may be due to verbal confusion in the native tongue, obscuring a former distinction between Napiw^{a} and Natos. However this may be, the import of the preceding seems to be, that, for a number of years at least, the Old Man has been a secondary mythological character. The problem is, then, to determine whether this secondary relation is due to gradual displacement by intrusive beliefs, or to the fact that the belief in the Old Man is in itself of recent introduction.

While we have no intention of making a comparative study of these myths, a few statements may not come amiss. The Old Man of the Thompson Indians, is, like the Old Man of the Blackfoot, a secondary character, though relatively less prominent, and, according to Boas, he is not made an object of prayer, and not held in particular reverence.[1] In the Plains, it appears that the Old Man of the Crow, Nih'a^{n}ca^{n} of the Arapaho, Nix'a^{n}t of the Gros Ventre, and Napiw^{a} of the Blackfoot, have a great deal in common. They were in certain respects creators, but also tricksters; and many vile pranks were common to all. The general impression one gets from comparative reading of all these tales is that the Blackfoot and the Crow stand in close relation as opposed to the Arapaho and the Gros Ventre. However, the collections from the Crow and Gros Ventre are not complete. It is interesting to note that the Arapaho Nih'ä^{n}ça^{n} is the word for "white man," as is also the Cheyenne Vihuk and the Blackfoot Napiw^{a}. The Arapaho Hixtcaba Nih'ä^{n}ça^{n} (Above-White-Man, God) is identical in meaning with Spo^{x}toom Napiwa. Again, the statement of Kroeber, that "in none of the Arapaho myths is there the slightest trace of any animal or spider-like qualities attributed to Nih'ä^{n}ça^{n},"[2] applies equally well to

[1] Thompson River Indian Traditions, p. 7.
[2] George A. Dorsey and Alfred L. Kroeber Traditions of the Arapaho. (Field Columbian Museum Publication 81, 1903, footnote, p. 7).

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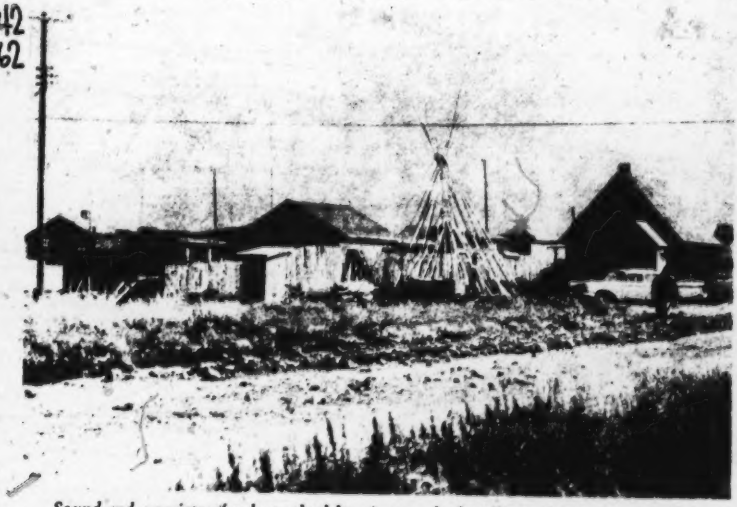

Sound and a variety of sub-standard housing can be found together in some sections of Browning.

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829 seemed, of retaining, if not regaining, some aspects of his better life. To Arrowhead, those better days are gone, part of what was lost when the white man "took everything from the Indian." The white man has become the scapegoat for all John's ills; he can do nothing about this and evidently expects no changes for the better.

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[427] John rents a small three room shack on Moccasin Flat where he lives with
592 his wife and the younger two of their four children. His wife has made this place
423 quite comfortable in spite of its run-down condition. John said that he also has
592 a house on his land, where he used to live, and to which they sometimes go for
511 a few months during the summer. Some of his friends are unmarried and live with members of their family, some have separated from their wives and have no fixed residence. Most of his close friends are equally improvident, with a life style similar to that of Arrowhead.

[771] Why does Arrowhead not participate in the Indian ceremonies about which he knows so much? He is, he said, a Catholic, but seldom goes to church. How much does he understand of Christianity? How much does he believe in the old religion? Along with these questions, yet to be answered, are others. What factors contribute to the apparent differences between Arrowhead and Buffalo Heart? In what ways are they similar? Are the differences and similarities to be explained by age, skills, experience, education, or what? These same questions arise again and again as these men are compared with other tribal members.

I met several other older men, in ranch dress, who came to town once a week or so. One, Roy Conrad, age sixty-eight, is a farmer from the east side of

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

177 concerning the tribe and the reservation, but see their future in terms of work, money, and building capital—the ranch, the farm, the herd. Some people represented by Roy and Bob achieve more success than others in this endeavor.

I also met some younger men, in appearance and dress youthful counterparts of John Arrowhead. They, however, spend less time standing around, seem to be more animated in their conversation, and move more often at a somewhat quicker pace. Like Roy and Bob, these men are not in town regularly. Joseph Renault, for example, is seen for a few days and then is gone for weeks at a time. He appears to differ in a number of ways from the others I have talked about.

177 464 [484] Upon acquaintance, I found that this man is an active seeker of work, is known to be a good worker who is called whenever jobs are available. He also leaves the reservation to look for work in the harvests, to fight forest fires, or to take construction jobs. His employment is irregular and seasonal, yet he takes advantage of all such work available.

177 [592] [362] Joe is thirty-two years old, ⅜ Blackfeet, married but separated from his wife. When home, on Badger Creek near Old Agency, he lives with his mother, a sister, her two children, and two of his children that his mother is raising. These seven people live in a two room frame house that is badly in need of repair.

[191] Joe knows something of Indian practices and has participated occasionally in social dancing. He speaks English quite fluently and claims to know very little of the Blackfeet language. He talked of both work conditions and old Indian ways during our discussions, but as a participant in the work realm and as one who was [271] marginal to the Indian ways. He is a Catholic by faith, but here, too, is seldom a participant. I met him in town, where he frequently comes "between jobs" to meet his friends, have a few drinks and then, when his cash is gone, leave to find more work.

177 464 Because the opportunities to get better acquainted with Joe were few, I have but a shallow impression of his way of life. He impressed me as a man who, if trained, could become a steady worker, or who might just as readily fall into a pattern of life like that of Arrowhead as jobs become harder to find as he grows older. I learned little of his values or the beliefs to which he is committed; his goals, at least as he expressed them, seem to be limited to the next job and the spending of the money he earns. He talked occasionally of going on relocation, or of signing up for on-the-job training, but hinted that these thoughts have been with him for several years and have never gone beyond the inquiry stage. He had been in the Army for two years where he had learned welding, but found no demand for that trade on the reservation. "I may go to Denver and get a welding job," he said once, but he never went and I felt that in all probability he never would. If, in later years, he should go, and is successful in finding a trade and sticking to it, he might avoid the Arrowhead pattern. Yet he gives the impression 177 that he would expect to fail and would return to the reservation. What creates these impressions of a man who at first seems so open and self-assured? The assurance is there when he talks of the present, but when he is led into thinking about the future he give the impression that this is unexplored territory. He has only vague ideas to work with. Also, he seems to have but shallow ties with the past, limited to his own experience plus what little he knows of his parents' life. Perhaps he

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

is yet too young to be concerned with the past; but why no thought of the future? Again a question for further reflection.

I met some younger men, visibly Indian, who also were raised in the more traditional full-blood homes, but who are better educated than others from a similar background. They speak both languages fluently and are able interpreters. Raymond Black Plume expressed a primary goal of these men. "I want to make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best from the white way." These men see themselves as representatives of the full-blood group within the council, and actively seek office. Raymond has served several terms.

He participates in Indian ceremonies and knows much of the old religion and rituals, although he himself is a Christian and an active church member. His commitment to the old beliefs is difficult to assess. Although he is more than tolerant of the old practices, and gives the impression of being a respectful non-believer, occasional statements lead me to believe that there is much in the old religion that appeals to him, and he may have assimilated some of this into his Christian practice. Raymond's father, recently dead, had been one of the "chiefs," so Raymond's knowledge of Blackfeet lore and life came directly to him in his childhood home. Beyond this, he has traveled widely and has studied and accepted much white culture from his schooling.

I met a few others like him, all of whom are interested in tribal affairs and work regularly in council or agency jobs, or as clerks, teachers or tradesmen. These people, while differing as individuals, represent another kind of full-blood Indian.

Raymond, age forty-one, is married and has four children. His frame house has four rooms and, differing from those mentioned earlier, has more furnishings, including a refrigerator and a television set. He has a recent model automobile that is kept in good condition, but shows little attention to minor details of upkeep.

The house is located near those of other members of his family along a small creek, several miles from Browning, where the family members pooled their labor to develop a stock ranch. When Raymond is serving on the council, or employed at a council or agency job, he can count on his brothers, uncles, and nephews to look after the place, while his income, which is large in terms of the reservation average, will be used to keep all the family going when they need money.

These activities also indicated that Raymond is keenly interested in the present, ongoing activities of tribe and ranch. He also likes to talk of the past—a past in which he is interested and of which he heard much from his father. However, he has no desire to return to those days, only a wish to use what good the old culture has to offer for today. He also thinks much about the future. He has goals for the people and for himself. He intends to build up the ranch until it can support the family. "I'll be ready if termination[1] comes," he said; "I'll be able to take care of myself and family." His progress toward this end appears to be slow, but he is making headway.

Raymond said that his greatest problems arise from the jealousy of his

[1] Termination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between Indians and the federal government.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

friends and neighbors. The people like to see one of their boys get ahead but at the same time are jealous of his success. Consequently he is often the subject of gossip. People like Arrowhead praise him at one time, while at other times they lump him with the "crooks" on the council who see to it that all the benefits go to members of their own families but do nothing for the other people. He is criticized by Sorrel Horse for the conveniences to be found in his home. "Just go call on one of those councilmen. He'll have everything in his house, a radio, TV, a refrigerator, and probably will even have beer in it. He'll tell you that he's worked hard for it. But he hasn't. He tries to live like a white man while we have nothing." Such criticism and gossip soon led me to believe that even the full-blood Blackfeet do not see eye to eye on many things. They differ as to what they want in life, how to get these things, and in their ability to achieve them. Raymond said that there is conflict also between the full-bloods and the mixed-bloods. The latter, who make up roughly three-fourths of the tribal population, are more progressive, according to Raymond. "They try to push things the old folks don't understand. It isn't a caste division, just a mistrust of method and plan."

Many other people I met varied in family backgrounds, in jobs, or in personal appearance from those already discussed, but there were certain basic similarities in attitudes toward themselves and others, similarities of comprehension of, and interest in, Indian ways versus white ways. These characteristics make one person more like Arrowhead, another more like Raymond Black Plume, and yet another more like Joe Renault. There are many others, however, who seem to represent variations of a contrasting way of life.

Carl Hunter, thirty-seven years of age, is ⅜ Blackfeet and the son of mixed-blood parents. He had completed the eighth grade and served two years in the army, eight months of which was in active combat in Korea. His wife is ½ Blackfeet, and they have five children.

Carl owns no land or home of his own. He and his family live with his father, a widower who owns a two-room log cabin built in 1939 under one of the reservation housing programs. This is one of several houses clustered along Blacktail Creek from which the daily water supply is drawn. The home is sparsely furnished. The wood range serves for both cooking and heating. A wooden table and kitchen chairs provide dining and seating facilities. A cot, two double beds, and a crib complete the furnishings. The limited space and the sleeping requirements for eight people allow for little more.

Carl is employed regularly during the time of year (seven months) when work is available. He has worked on the railroad section crew and as a ranch hand, but considers construction labor to be his main occupation. His income is not high, but is steady and sufficient to qualify him for unemployment benefits. His father has land which is leased for grazing and receives a small pension for his years of service as a janitor and caretaker for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This money, pooled with Carl's income, usually carries the family through the winter. Only occasionally is it necessary for the family to apply for welfare assistance.

According to Carl, neither he nor his father have any knowledge of the traditional Blackfeet culture. All of the family have been raised as Catholics. Both his father and mother had attended the Catholic boarding school and stayed to work there for several years—his father as a caretaker and his mother as a cook.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Blackfeet and his wife is 1/16. He was dressed in the familiar blue denim pants, cowboy shirt, boots, and hat.

The ranch Robert operates belonged to his father who had established the home and herd in 1940. Robert had been given a few cows while he was in school as payment for his work on the ranch. As his father grew older, more and more of the work had been turned over to Robert and his brother, until they have assumed complete charge. His father is dead; his mother lives with him.

What is Indian about Robert? He said he does not speak the language, although his father could. He knows nothing about the old Indian religion, lore, or medicine. He and his parents before him were raised as Catholics and attended church regularly. His great-grandmother was a full-blood Blackfeet, but his father and grandfather had both married white women, so he felt that his home background and training had been no different than it would have been if he had had no Indian ancestors, and had been born and raised on a similar ranch across the reservation line. Because they have lived on the reservation, he and members of his family have picked up, by observation and hearsay, a superficial knowledge of Indians and Indian ways, but he evinced little interest in these things. A few of his relatives have taken an interest in the more formal aspects of pan-Indianism; they participate, for example, in the major Indian Pow Wows such as the annual Indian Encampment at Sheridan, Wyoming. Their participation is limited to marching or riding in the parade, entering a daughter in the Miss American Indian contest, or acting as a judge for this and other contests. They neither camp in the tepee circle nor participate in the dances.

Robert has gone to school with people who are more Indian than he, so he knows many kinds of people. His social activities, however, have been limited to his family and their close friends—people much like himself. He casts Indian problems into one or the other of two contexts. His immediate response to a question about Indians is to talk about reservation problems, of land, leasing, cattle, employment, and of the conflicts between "Indians" (the reservation population) and the "whites" (government officials, white farmers who bought or leased Indian land, and the local merchants). Within this context he is aligned with the tribe and the Indians. When the discussion turns to matters of Indian culture, his focus changes. At times he felt that people should let the Indians live the way they want to. At other times he commented that these beliefs and practices are doomed to extinction and should be helped on their way. The impressive thing was that this does not concern him. He suggested that I call upon some of the "Indians." "They can tell you about this." Within this context, Robert did not see himself as an Indian. What is an Indian? When and under what circumstances do people of mixed-blood see themselves as Indians and when not? Does the full-blood Indian think of people like Robert as Indian or white? Are they considered to be Indian or non-Indian by the white people who live around them?

Robert's recreational activities center around the ranch life. He rarely attends the local Indian Days festivities. He is, however, among the audience at all local rodeos, fairs, and school meetings, and takes part in a few community service projects—those concerned with community development, schools, youth programs, cattle and range management programs.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Ranching and farming are the major economic pursuits of the people of these counties. The northern and western portions contain excellent natural grazing areas and are extensively used by both residents and outsiders for grazing of beef cattle, sheep, and horses. The eastern third of Glacier county and the greater portion of Pondera are subject to lesser amounts of rainfall than the more westerly portions but have more frost free days, and have been utilized to a greater extent for both dry and irrigation farming. Principal crops are wheat, barley, and hay.

Oil and natural gas production and refining are important industries, with the principal producing fields lying just to the east of the reservation limits. Producing wells on the reservation in both the northeast and southeast corners may be tapping these same fields. Oil is also being pumped in the northwest part of the reservation and there has been revived interest recently in exploring the potential of the western foothill strip. Oil lease money and bonus payments for leasing rights have provided a fluctuating but important prop to the local economy. There has been little manufacturing or lumbering, although the foothill strip, adjoining national forests and Glacier Park, has a lumber potential that is slowly being realized as the tribal mill in Browning increases its lumber output and new wood products industries are being attracted to the reservation.

The population, with an economic base of beef, wool, grain, and hay, also supports businesses, services, schools, churches, and government. Banking and financing institutions are available in Cut Bank, Browning, Conrad and Valier. Dependent children, and also those who are needy, aged, blind, or disabled are provided for by the county public welfare system established by state law and financed by tribal, county, state, and federal funds.

Like the other people of Glacier and Pondera counties the tribal members are citizens of the United States and of the state of Montana. They participate in national and state politics and in the county, precinct, school district, and town governments according to their places of residence. Reservation boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect it. Democrats, Republicans, independents, and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system. County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines. The public schools that have Indian pupils receive federal support under the Federal Impact Area Act (PL 874) (U.S. Statutes LXIV, 1, 1950:1100) and the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 (U.S. Statutes XLVIII, 1934:596) which in differing ways provide for payments to public schools in lieu of the taxes not received from Indian lands held in trust. Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant, and staff, are found in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning, Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere in rural regions of the United States. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers here and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade, and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area.

554 177 has gained them this status, however, cannot be translated into effective, practical political and economic leadership, so that another type of Indian-oriented leader must fill this gap.

Interpreters,[16] like Raymond Black Plume, form a high status class made up of relatively younger men who are better educated, were raised in Indian-oriented homes, speak both languages fluently, and have assumed, or gained, leadership roles in the community. They express the ambition to "make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best of the white way." They are capable of fitting into a role made necessary by the reservation complex wherein two contrasting societies attempt to function under a common political system. They can talk to and better understand both sides. At the same time, these leaders *are Indian-oriented*. They want to be accepted by the Indian society and want to maintain Indian identity, but both the bicultural milieu and their personal qualities lead to an understanding and participation that differs from that of the chiefs.

The interpreters know much of the old religion and lore. Quite often their fathers had been of the chief class and these men had been taught some of the traditions in their homes. But they are not committed, openly at least, to the old religion. They are members, and often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who are Catholics look for elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they are adept at finding Christian analogues for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian attendance at these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence that many Indian-oriented persons are changing church affiliation frequently and that this is caused possibly by a search for a white church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet religion.[17]

554 177 771

[796] The interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are given parts to play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional wisdom required for the roles, but they are Indian leaders who are sympathetic and "good." They tend to express Indian values, and subscribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters frequently put up a tepee for Indian Days, wear a chiefly costume on appropriate occasions, stress their Indian names, and belong to a men's society.

554 177 In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the white-oriented, and through ability, hard work, and some economic success are well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own in any rural off-reservation community. The interpreters are not wealthy. They usually earn good salaries in agency or council positions but they use this income to help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinsmen work the ranch in return for some financial support. All share in the profits and losses from the enterprise.

554 556 [602]

[16] In an earlier paper I included the interpreters among what I called the 150% Men—people who knew two cultures well (McFee 1968).

[794] [17] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults common to so many Indian reservations even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

tools and utensils, but she was also responsible for the movement of the camp equipment. She dismantled the tipi, caught the reluctant dogs and tackled them to the travois, loaded the travois, and kept the lively dogs in line on the march. Often she carried heavy loads on her own back. At the end of a hard day's journey she could not rest until she had pitched the tipi and fed the family. Furthermore, as indicated above, women rendered active assistance in the co-operative buffalo hunt. In this toilsome life youthful beauty was short lived, and there was little comfort in old age. When they became bent with age and too feeble to follow the moving camp on foot, they were abandoned to face death alone.

Men were hunters, warriors, and craftsmen who made their weapons and their ceremonial and religious equipment. In dog days, when swiftness of foot and physical stamina were decided assets, young men must have been proud to have had the reputation of being good runners who could overtake a buffalo or an enemy on foot. Individuals who achieved outstanding war records, or who possessed powers to call the buffalo or heal the sick, must have enjoyed a distinction among their fellows denied the average man.

Probably many religious beliefs widely held by the forest Algonkian tribes survived among the Blackfeet in dog days. Undoubtedly they shared with the forest tribes a basic belief in the ability of supernatural birds or animals to communicate some of their sacred power to young men who actively sought it through prayers and fasting. This power, they believed, would aid and protect its human beneficiary throughout his life. Men who received power from the same animal, such as the bear, beaver, or buffalo, formed cults and performed ceremonies they believed were sacred to that animal. Perhaps the most important of these animal cults in dog days was that of the beaver, for it was the beaver medicine men whose rituals charmed the buffalo into the corral and brought food to their people in time of need.[13]

[13] Clark Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. VII, Part 2 (1912), 282. Wissler considered the beaver ceremonies the oldest of the many Blackfoot bundle rituals.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Maximilian and Bodmer spent more than a month at Fort McKenzie, in the heart of the Blackfoot country. During this period (August 9–September 14, 1833) all three Blackfoot tribes came in to trade. While Bodmer was busy making excellent water color portraits of many of the most influential chiefs and drawing a panoramic view of the great camp of the Piegans, the Prince recorded his observations of Blackfoot customs and of the conduct of the trade at Fort McKenzie.

Mitchell was making definite progress wooing the Blackfoot trade away from the Hudson's Bay Company. At the conclusion of a feast given by the Northern Blackfoot chief Iron Shirt, that leader gave Mitchell the scarlet uniform with blue facings and yellow lace which he had received from the "Northern White Men." Later Mitchell gave the Piegan leader, Bear Chief, a handsome uniform, a red felt hat ornamented with feathers, and a new double-barreled percussion gun, to let the other chiefs see "how the American Fur Company distinguished its faithful friends."

Prince Maximilian was the first white observer to describe the Blackfoot men's societies. He named seven of these fraternities and noted that they were age-graded. That is, young men purchased membership in the Mosquito Society and gradually progressed through the other societies to the Bull Society of elderly men. Each society had its peculiar regalia, songs, and dances. All societies except the Mosquitos and Bulls assumed responsibilities for keeping order in the camp. He also witnessed and briefly described the dramatic reinactment of the driving of buffalo into a pound by the colorfully garbed members of the Women's Society.

Maximilian was disappointed in the information he obtained about Blackfoot religion, explaining, "Mr. Berger the interpreter, who was otherwise well acquainted with the Blackfoot Indians, could not give me any information respecting their religious ideas, further than that they worship the sun."[27]

[26] Maximilian, *Travels*, II, 46, 71–76.
[27] *Ibid.*, 112–17, 122.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

many changes of clothing and seek handsome gear to show off their horses. The decadence of slave raiding decreased women's fears of being taken captive by alien peoples.

The coming of the horse offered greater security to the aged and the physically handicapped. Whereas their lives were formerly sacrificed because they could not be taken along with the moving camp, these people could live well in the Horse Culture Period if they owned horses which others might use to kill buffalo and move camp for them. Stingy, the wealthy, blind, influential Piegan (frequently mentioned in previous pages), probably would have died in infancy had he been born during the Pedestrian Culture Period.

The band, basic political and residential unit among the Blackfoot, probably was a stable, exogamic organization of blood relatives, led by the most able, mature man in the group in the Pedestrian Culture Period. By the waning decades of buffalo days the Blackfoot band had become a fluid organization, composed both of related and unrelated families, within which marriage was permitted. Necessity for extensive reorganization of bands following serious plagues and war losses in historic times undoubtedly contributed to this change in the character of Blackfoot bands. Dependence of the poor in horses upon the charity of wealthy leaders helped to keep the bands fluid. The poor followed the leader who was able and willing to offer them the greatest security through dispensing gifts of food and gifts or loans of horses. They readily shifted their band allegiance if they thought they could improve their condition thereby.

It is doubtful whether the ability to dispense individually owned property to other band members was a factor of any importance in the selection of a band chief in the Pedestrian Culture Period when, presumably, there were no marked extremes of wealth and poverty. However, in the Horse Culture Period requirements for band leadership came to include considerable wealth and a willingness to employ it for the alleviation of the poor.

INFLUENCE ON RELIGION

If the Blackfoot Indians looked upon dogs as sacred animals in the days when dogs were their only domesticated animals, their descendants appear to have no traditions regarding that attitude. I have found no trace in Blackfoot culture of a dog cult organized for the express purpose of appealing to dog spirits for aid in doctoring or influencing the actions of dogs.

On the other hand, the horse came to occupy a position of considerable prominence in Blackfoot religious beliefs and rituals. The sudden appearance of this animal, whose services did so much to lighten the daily tasks of the Indians and to raise their standard of living,

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

demanded an explanation. The Blackfoot looked upon the horse as a godsend. In their mythology it was represented as a gift of powerful sky or water spirits. Horses were thought to possess supernatural powers. The ability of certain horses to perform feats of unusual strength or endurance was proof to the Indians that those animals possessed those powers to a very high degree.

Some horses were believed to have appeared to their owners in dreams and conferred their powers upon them. Through such transference of powers the secret horse medicine cult was believed to have originated. The relatively few members of this cult carefully guarded their knowledge of the origin of their medicines and restricted their use by outsiders in such a way that their secrets would not be revealed. Members were feared and respected by fellow tribesmen to the extent that many aged Indians still fear to discuss the cult. There are no other Blackfoot ceremonial organizations whose secrets have been so closely guarded, with the possible exceptions of the Horn Society among the Blood and the Tobacco Planters of the North Blackfoot. The influence of horse medicine men's activities pervaded the fields of warfare, hunting, recreation, and curing, as well as the daily lives of their people. Their ritual practices were designed to heal sick and wounded horses and to cure humans, to revive exhausted horses, to assist individuals in capturing horses from the enemy or in handicapping enemy war horses, to prevent hunting horses from falling in slippery winter weather and to retard the movements of buffalo in the hunt, to handicap race horses, to capture wild horses, and to prevent horses from straying from their owner's herds. Their ceremony, the horse dance, followed the generalized Blackfoot ceremonial bundle pattern but had distinctive features. Taboos observed by horse medicine men also were distinctive. There was a close relationship between the horse medicine men and owners of medicine pipes whom the horse specialists customarily aided. These specialists also aided other Indians in the preparation of protective "horse bridles" worn under the heads of war horses on scalp raids.

Indirectly the influence of the horse affected other Blackfoot religious rituals. Horse payments were invariably made as inducements to owners of ceremonial bundles to transfer their power to prospective purchasers. At intervals throughout the tribal Sun Dance ceremony participants were required to recite their coups, most commonly acquired through raiding for horses. In the two cases of self-torture during a Sun Dance that have been recorded in detail, the suppliants are known to have vowed to undergo the torture just before entering enemy camps to take horses.

Finally the horse was given a role of prominence in burial and mourning rites. The favorite horses of a wealthy individual were

106 means that Blackfeet predominated. "Both" means that Blackfeet was
121 spoken usually among the elders and English used with the children.
177 "English P" records the predominant use of this language in the
184 childhood home, "English" indicates that only English was spoken.
191 Subject Speaks Blackfeet informs about how many men from the
197 backgrounds already described actually learned to speak the Blackfeet language. Full knowledge of the language is indicated with an "X," partial knowledge by "X-," and no knowledge by a blank. The rating is made first according to the informant's own appraisal of his fluency in the language. Then the reply was checked wherever possible by further questioning, by observation of situations in which the informant used the language, by reports of others and by inference from his association with others who spoke Blackfeet fluently and used it frequently among themselves.

Predominant Language in Present Home, scored in the same way as "Predominant Language in Childhood Home," gives information that can be used to further investigate the subjects' use of the language. Some men, fluent in the Blackfeet language, use it more frequently than do others. While Blackfeet is not the predominant language in the present homes, some families use both and others only English. The variations appear to be meaningful indices of cultural differences.

106 Indian Religion and Lore heads a column in which individuals
121 are rated on their knowledge of and participation in aspects of the old
177 Blackfeet belief system. A rating of "A" is given if a man exhibited
184 belief in some of the old medicines or powers--e.g., he owned, or had
771 owned, bundles, charms or a painted tepee; he had participated in the

106 Medicine Lodge, acted as a curer, or had practiced Indian rituals in
121 times of stress. An "A-" rating indicates strong belief in Indian
177 religious aspects, but a participation that is peripheral and not
184 central to ritual occasions. Such an individual would attend bundle
771 openings, know about the ritual, songs, and ceremony, but would not actively participate. A rating of "B" would indicate a knowledge about much of the old ways, but the man did not attend or participate in their performance. Such a person's attitude might be called sympathetic superstition. He has been taught that the powers and beliefs are things of the past, that they are superstitions, yet he tends to feel that they did work in the past and there just might be something to them. He has neither the "power" nor the conviction, but believes that these things, even though not understood, are to be treated with respect. An individual with a rating of "C" "knows" about aspects of the old religion. He has heard about these beliefs and practices, but does not participate in any related ceremonies. He has internalized little, if anything, of the old beliefs and evinces little interest in them beyond their historical or anecdotal worth. A "D" rating is given to people who claim to know nothing of the Indian religion and show little or no interest in it.

106 Curing is rated "X" for those who have used Indian doctors and
121 Indian herbs, "X-" where only herbs were used, and left blank where
177 white doctors and drugs are used exclusively. The United States Public
184 Health Service medical facilities are accepted and used by almost
758 everyone in the tribe, including some of the known medicine men, so the ratings in this column record use of Indian cures in addition to the

177 taught some of the traditions in their homes. But they are not
184 committed, openly at least, to the old religion. They are members, and
565 often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who are Catholics look for
554 elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they are adept at
177 finding Christian analogs for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined
184 minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian
565 attendance at these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence
554 that many Indian-oriented persons are changing church affiliation
771 frequently and that this is caused possibly by a search for a white
795 church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet religion.[196]

177 The Interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are
184 given parts to play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional
565 wisdom required for the roles, but they are Indian leaders who are
554 sympathetic and "good." They tend to express Indian values, and sub-
[796] scribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters put up a tepee for Indian Days,
[186] wear a Chiefly costume on appropriate occasions, stress their Indian
names and belong to a men's society.

In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the white-oriented, and through ability, hard work and some economic success, are well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own in any rural off-reservation community. The Interpreters are not wealthy. They usually earn good

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[794] [196] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

Blackfoot declare that a generally "favourable trade balance" exists in terms of generosity: more exports occur than imports. Some Indians commented on this with pride, extolling Blackfoot generosity. Others have been less impressed, saying that the Blackfoot should not be the ones who are always giving.

Religious ceremonies may be viewed as an aspect of distribution. Although the object of Blackfoot religion can be conceived as a deflector of, or insurance against, certain malignant cosmic forces, the manner of achieving this constitutes a system of exchange and distribution. To overcome illness, for example, one vows to purchase a certain medicine bundle, shield, or painted tipi from another. Ceremonial transfer usually involves many persons singing the songs and performing the proper ritual under the direction of a master of ceremonies who receives a fee for his services. At the conclusion food is given to the guests. The cost of the transfer and the price of the medicine bundle are borne by the recipient. Membership in sacred societies or acquiring a weasel-skin suit operates the same way. The regalia purchased is regarded as a medicine bundle and gives a guarantee against catastrophe.

A sacred object provides almost continuous opportunities for generosity not only for the owner himself but for all members of his family. Most sacred objects have annual ceremonies wherein its songs are sung as the bundle is opened and displayed. Here, too, a paid master of ceremonies is required to lead the songs. During such a ceremonial considerable quantities of food are given away to all present. Relatives may help by giving away a blanket, money, or a horse to a guest in honour of the owner.

The most prosperous Indian, hence (in their terms) those on best terms with cosmic forces, have bought and sold many sacred objects. This matter of having owned sacred objects then becomes a symbol of generosity. When one has owned a large number of them, say fifteen, an opportunity arises to exhibit generosity. Such a person may hold a smoking ceremony at which time he can demonstrate his past generosity by singing the songs of each sacred object. Those with fewer sacred objects to their credit will be unable to sing comparably, thus exposing their lack of generosity.

Many of these distributive mechanisms are used relatively little. It is a rare year when a major sacred object or membership in a sacred society changes hands. No Medicine Pipe was acquired

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

Horn Society is the greatest of any society, its strength is regarded as comparable to that of the Christian churches. Furthermore, its power has been increased by combining into it the regalia of the former Kit-Fox Society, a defunct society with great supernatural power. Thus when Christian power has failed, one appeals at once to the strongest of Indian powers. This change occurred during World War I when after a lapse of about thirty years the Horn Society was revived by a group of comrades because of their interest in Indian ways. At that time it still had age-grade character. After the influenza epidemic of 1918 it was bought out by persons of various ages who had vowed to join in order to ensure recovery. Since then persons of many ages have formed groups to join the society, though the majority is middle-aged. Because it is vowed only in time of severe crisis, the period of holding membership is now about ten years instead of the former four.

The Sun Dance itself has also been forced into conformity with reserve life. The circle camp no longer makes the four changes in location before building the lodge. Without the participation of young people, the circle is a thin line of tipis and tents with numerous gaping holes where an extinct band formerly camped. Because of farm work and the Calgary Stampede, it lasts only about a week instead of several weeks. On the climactic day of general participation to erect the Sun Dance lodge, a handful of individuals kneel with the calico offerings before the ceremonial leaders to have their faces painted. The past enthusiasm at raising the centre pole and pushing the rafters into place has become almost perfunctory. Few go forth to gather the green branches that form the outer wall. Only one or two dancers appear in yellow paint to dance inside the lodge. Nevertheless, the ceremony is considered indispensable, for without it the entire tribe risks misfortune. Since the eligible vowers are few and cannot afford the frequent, repeated expense that is involved, financing has become a public interest. Donations are solicited from the age-mates of the vower's husband; Horn Society members and chiefs make contributions as part of their community obligations. Under these circumstances the Sun Dance continues as a reunion of those who embrace Indian ways and as a time for them to display their solidarity with the past.

Certain features of the Tobacco Dance have also changed. There has been a comparable simplification of ritual so that some of the winter "sings" for opening the Beaver Bundles have been omitted. More important is the change in character of ownership

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

593 My husband used to get mad at me for crumbs of bread that used to be all over the bed.

THE HOLY WOMEN AMONG MY GRANDMOTHERS

771 All of my traditional grandmothers prayed a lot and believed in their religion. To me they were all holy women, 793 living a sacred way of life. But there were special ones among them who were revered by the rest of the tribe as holy women. 796 These were the sponsors of the Sun Dance, or medicine lodge ceremonies. That is the highest religious event among my people, and it is always sponsored by a noble woman who has been true to her husband and otherwise upstanding in life. This fact, by itself, has long helped women to have a special standing in our tribe.

773 The legend of the medicine lodge ceremony has been handed down from our long-ago ancestors. Even today most of our people know at least some parts of it. I have heard long versions told by several of my elders. This legend is perhaps comparable to the story of Christmas among Christians. It tells our people that Sun is the main representative of the Creator. It also tells how some of our long-ago ancestors were [771] taken up to Sun to bring back blessings for our people. Much of our religion centers around the wonderful stories and ceremonies that were brought back from Sun. Each holy woman 796 who has sponsored a Sun Dance has represented one of the 793 legendary messengers from Sun. Thus the holy women are also known as Sun Women, and the holy lodges they build are also known as Sun Lodges. All the people gather to help build these lodges, in the middle of summer, when Sun is [361] closest to our country. In the old days this was about the only time in the year that all the bands of the tribe assembled in one place, together. Everyone could go before the

I always prepared my food supplies well before we went 251
to the Sun Dance camps. I bought a lot of groceries, and I
sliced a lot of meat and let it dry. I used to slice up the meat
and some fat, then boil the two together before I hung them
up to dry. Then I would sprinkle wild mint over the dried
pieces and pack it in layers, inside my rawhide parfleches.
That gave them a good flavor and kept the bugs out. In those 241
days my husband and I raised a garden, so we would plant a
lot of early potatoes. By the time of the Sun Dance we could
harvest a lot of them. We sold the big ones to a white man
who lived nearby. He gave us five dollars for a sack of them.
Then we would bring all the smaller ones to the Sun Dance.

My husband and I lived by our Indian religion through all 771
our many years together, and I am still living by it today.
We went through many ceremonial transfers. We were given a 778
medicine pipe bundle which we took care of for many years.
It originally belonged to the Blackfoot division, so we Bloods
called it the Blackfoot medicine pipe. It was a heavy bundle
because there were many sacred articles in it, including two
holy pipes. We transferred it to Mike Eagle Speaker and his
wife, and they gave it to Steve Oka. When his wife died he
sold it to a museum in Calgary, and that is where it is now.

The owners of these bundles have to wear special neck-
laces, and there were no necklaces with this medicine pipe. 778
My father was still living then, so he called on an old holy 301
man and medicine pipe leader named Firemaker. My father 306
told Firemaker and his wife: "I am hiring you to make the
bundle complete for my daughter and her husband. Give them
new necklaces and bracelets like the bundle owners are sup-
posed to wear." You cannot just go ahead and make such
things, you have to be initiated. So they made us the new
articles, with shells and beads, and my husband and I were
initiated for them. Firemaker's wife told me: "Now, you have 778
received these separately from your bundle, so you will keep 301

and seen that our fireplaces in the centers of our tipis were surrounded by circles of stones, and that around the fireplaces our People were seated in circles. As each of these circles had no beginning and no end, so we were reminded that the Great Spirit of the Universe has no beginning and no end. 354 771

We were gathered together in the circle encampment to sing and pray and dance in many ceremonies. The ceremonies were to remind us of all the Spirits that gave us the Powers to live during the seasons since our last sacred gathering. Our songs were of the birds and animals, of the People and mountains, of the trees and flowers, of the sky and Sun. Especially of Sun! Sun is our constant reminder of the endless Power of the Universe. Sun is our father. The warm love that he sends to our Mother, Earth, brings life and makes everything grow. It is the same warm love that Sun provided for Earth in the times of our grandfathers and their grandfathers. Our prayers to Sun give us the same Holy Power he gave them in long-ago times. It is that endless Holy Power of the Universe that we refer to as *Natojewa*. It is our godhead and our Great Spirit. 771 776

To the Blood People the Belly Buttes are Natojewa; they are our Holy Land. Every year thousands of tourists speed through this land on 778 823

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5A]

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Parents Spoke Blackfeet	Language in Childhood Home	Subject Speaks Blackfeet	Language in Present Home	Indian Religion and Lore (A=knows, practices; B=knows; C=knows about; D=knows nothing)	Curing (X=some use Blank=no use)
2	1	English		English	C-	
3	1	English		English	D	
5	1-	English		English	D	
6		English		English	D	
7		English		English	D	
9	X	English P	X-	English	C	
10	X	Blackfeet	X	Both	B-	X-
11	X	English P		English	D	
12	1	English P	X-	English	D	
14	X	Blackfeet	X	English	C	
17	X	English P		English	D	
18	X	Blackfeet	X	Both	B+	X
19	1	English		English	D	
21		English		English	D	
25		Fr., English		English, Fr.	C	X-
26	X	English P	X-	Both	B-	X-
27	X	Both	X	Both	B	X
28	1	English		English	D	
29	1	English		English	D	
30	1	English		English	D	
31	1	English		English	D	
32	X	Blackfeet	X	Both	C+	X-
34		English		English	C	
35		English	X-	English	B	X-
37	X	English P	X-	English	D	
38	X	Both		English	C	
39	X	Both	X	Both	?	
42	1	English P	X-	English	C	
45	1	English		English	D	
46		English		English	D	
47	X	Blackfeet	X	Both	A-	X

[191] [191] [177] [158] 184 177 121 106

continue their basic daily life. One hundred horses were once given in exchange for a Medicine Pipe. In our Old Ways, these goods were considered sacrifices, material wealth exchanged for spiritual wealth. 778 432 178 [771]●

Outside influences came to displace this idea of exchange, trading one item for another, and replaced it with the concept of "payment." It wasn't long before most of our People began to apply this payment philosophy to our Old Ways. Some began to regard the sacrifice of exchanging material things for holy things as a form of payment. As the Old Ways eroded, and the spiritual meaning of things like these exchanges became lost, it gradually became fact that our People bought their sacred Bundles by "paying" for them. Some of our People even began to believe that such Power could be bought and sold for payments in goods. [771]

Today, the transfer of our Bundles is often purely a material affair: only the barest ritual is performed to satisfy traditional requirements. Neither the old nor the new owners make any spiritual adjustments in their lives in order to let the Holy Powers help them. The Bundles hang on walls, more as status symbols than as inherited Holy Spirits. [796] [556]

Robert Wilson, the trader, was probably the first to gather a collection of old things from our People, including Medicines. During the years Wilson operated his trading post at Stand Off, it was not unusual for him to accept an old shield, a pair of beaded moccasins, or a pipe and beaded pipe bag in exchange for new blankets or a gun. One man whose family was hungry and had no more food took the sacred Pipestem from his ancient Beaver Bundle and gave it to Wilson in exchange for flour. He replaced the sacred Stem in his Bundle with a broomstick. 439 177 443 778

Wilson's interest in obtaining the old things was to preserve them as well as to help out his friends on the reserve. He never pressured people to give up their old things. Instead, there were times when he gave the things back. An example

When Steve Oka lost his wife, his outlook on life became very gloomy and he no longer wished to care for his Bundle. He approached Hugh Dempsey and asked $600 for it, claiming he could easily get $500 if he took the Bundle to the South Piegan Reserve and transferred it there. Glenbow paid him only $300, with the proviso that he could buy back his Bundle within one year. Unfortunately, when Steve Oka decided to retrieve it, it was ten years too late.

Meanwhile, a new institution, the Alberta Provincial Museum in Edmonton, went about collecting our holy relics in a significantly less sensitive manner. For one thing, it encouraged the notion that all our religious material would eventually be lost or destroyed unless placed for safekeeping with the museum. Moreover, the museum promised that our People would always have access to their things. This was a convincing offer to our Old People, who were aware that Bundles and other sacred things were often stolen by relatives and sold for drinking money. To these Old People, the Alberta Provincial Museum not only offered protection from such loss, but also asked that the Bundles be transferred to an official of the museum in the traditional way, rather than merely sold. Owners who transferred their Bundles were paid quite handsomely for their cooperation.

Since members of the North Blackfoot Reserve still had many of their Medicine Bundles, the Alberta Provincial people concentrated their first efforts on that reserve. As people gave up their sacred Bundles to the museum, there soon were no more Beaver Bundle or Medicine Pipe ceremonies; the Horns Society and Motokiks no longer held their annual ceremonies, and the Sun Dance gatherings ended. Safekeeping the sacred Bundles did not preserve the religion, the Old People soon learned. Instead, the religion withered. Gone were the physical things that used to inspire religious feelings. The North Blackfoot People wandered about their reserve while the

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

things that inspired their sacred life were on display in glass cases several hundred miles away. 778 771

The Alberta Provincial Museum was highly successful in obtaining what it wanted by paying high prices to our People. Bundles once transferred for a few horses and blankets were suddenly "exchanged" for hundreds and thousands of dollars. Sometime in the early 1960s, I was visiting friends on the South Piegan Reserve, where the son of an aging Medicine Pipe Owner told me the exaggerated story about a museum up in Canada offering ten thousand dollars for a Medicine Pipe Bundle. 178 182 778 439 177 114 [435]

The following is an account of the Alberta Museum's transactions concerning one of our sacred Bundles. It is perhaps the most notorious acquisition from among the Bloods.

THE SALE OF OUR LONG-TIME PIPE

Most of our Medicine Pipe and Beaver Bundles are very old. No one knows exactly how many years ago they were first made. Among all our divisions, there is one particular Bundle that has been regarded with special awe and respect. This Bundle is so old that even back when our People still knew our ancient legends and histories, no one remembered ever hearing of a time when it was not among us. For that reason the Bundle has always been known as *Mesam-Achkuineman*, or "Long-Time Pipe." Except for a few repairs and additions, this Bundle is without metal or glass objects; nothing is in it that came from a trading post or store. Stories are still told about some of its long-ago Keepers who gave up dogs for transfer payments, because our People were then without horses. 778

Our sacred Long-Time Pipe was an anthropological prize that lay beyond the hopes of most museums and collectors. Respect for it was shared by virtually all of our People, even the Christianized majority. Its future among the Bloods was [795]

[A.84-B]

jects. Now and then, the neck and head and even the body cavity is stuffed with rags, or cotton to fill up space. In a few examples we have found sweet grass, etc. thrust into the cavity.[A]

778 281 [824]

When the skin begins to fall apart, especially in case of birds when legs, wings, and head begin to separate, crude attempts may be made to fasten them together. Not always is good knowledge of specimen characters shown; as when a duck head is fastened to the body of a grebe.

Finally as to the peculiar sandstone pipe bowl. It shows signs of weathering like an archeological specimen. It has not been handled much, with no signs of use in smoking. It does not fit the stem of decorated pipe accompanying the bundle [though it might have fit the missing Stem].

778 276

OUR LAST BEAVER BUNDLES

The Beaver Bundle ceremony began to lose its spiritual meaning when our People, settled down on the reserve, no longer lived closely with the birds and animals. The North Blackfoot People were the last to use Beaver Bundles as part of the traditional planting ceremonies of the sacred tobacco. These were continued until a few years ago, although no sacred tobacco had been grown among the Bloods and Piegans for a very long time.

771 778 178

Percy Creighton was incorrect in 1939 when he wrote Mrs. Walters, "There is no longer a beaver bundle in the tribe." There were still more than half a dozen at that time. But by 1965 there remained only two Beaver Bundles on the Blood Reserve. One belonged to Stealing-Different-Things-Woman, the old widow of Rides-at-the-Door, and our last holy woman. This Bundle was scorched a few years ago when the house it was kept in burned down. The old lady managed to escape the fire safely with her sacred Natoas Bundle, her holy woman's headdress, and, somehow, the Beaver Bundle. She and her husband had re-

778 [425]

A, [i.e., the cavities of birds and animals found in Beaver Bundles--Analyst]

tion of having been married to a ten-year-old girl when he was only twelve. The marriage was arranged by their parents. It is said that Calling First used to have his mother watch his wife while he went out to play with his friends. [778] [793] [582] [584]

During the 1930s our next-door neighbor, old Dick Soup, made a vow to take the Long-Time Pipe for his son, Arthur, who was then in a hospital. The following year Arthur returned home, and the Pipe was transferred to him. Old Bird Rattler called out the necessary coups while Soup was given the right to mount a horse (by tradition this required a man to relate how he had rescued a friend during battle) and to dismount (for which the coup had to be about an enemy who was pulled from his horse). Of course, no one today has such deeds among his record of accomplishments. [782] [432] [796] [555] [424] [425]

The next Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was Henry Standing Alone, also known as Folded Intestine. He and his wife were well-liked participants in our holy ceremonies. Unfortunately, they were killed recently in a tragic auto accident. Around 1939, Folded Intestine's daughter was very ill and he became depressed and lost his faith in our Old Ways. He wondered why his little girl had to suffer so much instead of him. But his daughter recovered and then he became critically ill. It took three months for him to get well again. While almost dead, he had a dream in which he was told that if he vowed to accept the duties of a Medicine Pipe Bundle, he would recover. He related his dream to two older relatives, Heavy Head and Cross Child, both former Medicine Pipe Keepers. They offered to help him fulfill his vow if he wished to follow their advice. They told him that since no particular Bundle had been mentioned in the dream, he might just as well vow the Powerful Long-Time Pipe. The Bundle was transferred to him during the next Sun Dance Encampment. [165] [771] [787] [782] [755]

Standing Alone transferred the Long-Time Pipe to his sister and her husband, John Red

Societies were formed to give members spiritual strength as they faced, often alone, the many physical challenges of daily life. This reassured the People of the tribe that organized groups of able men were always prepared to give assistance and protection. 575 182 771

Members of societies belonged to various bands within a tribe, and therefore were not able to meet as a complete group during most of the year. Yet as each member went about his daily life, hunting and raiding with his family or others, he was strengthened spiritually, knowing that his comrades were near and far. He took pride in wearing his society's symbols and regalia, whether he was dancing in the camp circle or making a stand against an enemy party, and he knew that the Spirits of his fellow members were with him. If he happened to be in battle alone, he might cheer himself on by loudly announcing his membership in an ancient society whose members were known for bravery. [619]

Men's societies often acted as the People's militias and policemen. It was their duty to carry out the chief's orders during tribal functions, so that harmony would be preserved among everyone. When camp was moved, society members rode along the outskirts of the caravan to defend it from enemy attacks. They helped stragglers and scouted the trail ahead. During communal hunts, society members kept the hunters together so that none got too eager to move ahead of the others, alarming the buffalo herds. (They punished such offenders by seizing and destroying their property. Thus, in our Old Ways, a policeman is called a "seizer.") 575 625 [681]

During the annual Sun Dance Encampments, members of some societies acted as seizers. The head chief and his council of band chiefs made up the orders for the camp, and criers announced the orders to the People. The societies whose members would enforce the orders and keep peace in the camp set up their lodges inside the camp circle, near the lodges of the chiefs, so that they could observe what was going on all [622] [203] [361]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 215A]
[p. 214-A]

In the Old Days, men danced to express their spiritual and physical powers and to stimulate their enthusiasm for bravery and for thoughts about life in harmony with nature. The dancers wore their fanciest war clothes and most spiritual dream symbols. Often they imitated their spiritual helpers, dressing and dancing in imitation of some bird or animal. The steps were usually slow and all the movements emphasized symbolic meanings. The men danced to inspire each other when they gathered with their society comrades. They danced to arouse the courage of a departing war party and they danced to celebrate the victory when the party returned successfully. In victory dances, the victors often took no part. Instead, their relatives, often wives or mothers, put on their war dress and bonnets and carried the trophies of the victorious battle around the dance circle. Guns and scalps were commonly held aloft, while the bearer called out the relative's name and praised his bravery and success.

As life in harmony with nature changed, so did the dancing. Dancing became more and more of a social affair, where the People gathered to sing and visit. As modern clothing replaced traditional dress, the social dances also became one of the few opportunities for the People to wear the old-time clothing. Those who could afford fancy clothes found this an opportunity to express their wealth and material success. The young men, of course, found these social dances fine for showing off and courting young women. Here is how Atsitsina remembers it:

The ladies will sit to one side, at a dance, and the men will sit on the other side. Before a lady

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 224-A]
[p. 222-A]

The last wife of old Shot-on-Both-Sides, Long-Time-Pipe-Woman, was our chief's step-mother. 622

My real mother died when I was about ten or eleven. Her name was Drums-in-the-Water, and she belonged to the Knife Owners band. The only member of that band who is still living is that old lady whose father was the Negro interpreter, Dave Mills. My mother's brothers were Willie Wadsworth and old Weasel Moccasin. Nowadays I've got all kinds of relatives on the reserve, full bloods, half-breeds, and Negroes. [144]

His father had many sacred Medicines, including the Long-Time Pipe and Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. He belonged to the Horns nine times. 622 778 425 [575]

I was very young when things were first transferred to me, before I went to school. When I went to school I gave away my weasel-tail buckskin suit. Bob Big Sorrel Horse transferred it to me. I think he transferred a horned Medicine headdress to me also. When I went to school I just gave them away. I was crazy. I should have kept them. I just gave them to my friend, Leo Crazy Bull. I didn't transfer them. He never did go to school. [431]

The last thing that was transferred to the chief was the rights to the famous One-Horned Headdress. The original, lost in Europe during the First World War, was given to him by Big-Faced Chief, a North Piegan. Bear Shin Bone painted him for it. He also had the Children's Medicine Pipe once, and he belonged to the Pigeons Society twice. He said that he would like to attend our Nighttime ceremonies if he ever gets enough sacred songs to do so. At this time he is only allowed to sing twelve songs. [575] [533] [424]

I think the Old Indian Way is good for young people. That is why I am helping the Horns 829 771

to try and get their sacred Bundles back. A Medicine Pipe Owner we used to think was very holy. He dressed holy and acted holy. Nowadays they don't behave like the ones from the past. The People don't find them very holy any more. . . . But maybe things will get better again. If we start to live a holy life again, maybe there won't be so many deaths. In the past there were not many sudden deaths; the People lived in a holy way then. . . . In the Old Days the Old People often followed both religions. They liked to go wherever there was praying. Now not only the Indian religion is being forgotten, the white religion is falling the same way.

ALBERT CHIEF CALF

Two of our Old People who still attend every ceremony are Mr. and Mrs. Albert Chief Calf. The old man was born in a tipi in 1895. He is known by his father's name, NinnaOnesta, or "Chief Calf"; his other name is Wrapped Up. His wife's name is Little Nice Face. The two make a distinctive couple on their daily walk through town—he is over six feet tall and sturdy-looking; his wife is quite short and plump. He usually wears an old black cowboy hat with an eagle plume attached; she always covers herself with a woolen shawl.

Although NinnaOnesta has attended ceremonies of our Old Ways all his life, he has been leading them for only the past few years. Last winter he alone led more Nighttime ceremonies than all the other leaders. He is always available for praying and is very easy to please and willing to please. He wears sunglasses because of his poor eyesight, which allows him to overlook details and distractions that would bother other leaders.

NinnaOnesta went on a number of raids during his young days, but like most of our Old People, he has said, "I can just talk about my raids when I am confessing them during holy ceremonies. I can't talk about them just any-

tained all the prayers, at this time, and was taken out and tied to a tree or left amid rocks. The bunches of sage were used to keep the bad Spirits, which was the purpose of this ceremony, from remaining behind to trouble the occupants of the lodge any further.] Tea and berries were now handed around. Ended at 5 p.m. 796 789 782 [272] [262]

That ceremony was similar to our Nighttime ceremonies of today, except that it ended after the details of the introduction were completed; there was no singing of transferred songs. 796

Here is an interesting excerpt from Wilson's notes on a ceremony that took place on July 28, 1891. It illustrates the earnestness and the faith of the participants. [127]

A woman . . . entered the lodge . . . stating that a relative of the devotee's, a brother who was ill in an adjoining lodge, wished to partake of the sacred facial decoration. As the man was in an advanced stage of consumption the priest made no answer at first but grumbled in an undertone to the effect that people must think him possessed of superhuman power. After a moment's thought, he gave a reluctant consent and the sick man entered and was painted as the rest. . . . The priest afterwards explained to me that that sick a man should not have requested the painting of himself, because the immediate object of the sacred face-painting was to ensure good health and long life to the participant; and that the painting of the face of a person who was visibly dying was in his eyes almost an act of sacrilege, hence his reluctance to make a mockery of a ceremony the efficacy of which he, the priest, firmly believed in. 796 302 [751] [784] [771]

Wilson himself once used offerings in our Old Way to overcome a problem. This story comes from Atsitsina. 789

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 349-B]

[p. 348-B]

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794 With no disrespect intended toward anyone, I could not help
797 smiling at this formal proclamation of the Chief's conversion. In
the first place, this is at least the second time that the Chief has been
796 officially accepted as a Roman Catholic; in the second place, the
Chief is a Methodist in good standing and is an honorary steward of
the Browning Methodist Church; and in the third place, the Chief
is at this very minute participating in a Sun Dance, the most im-
portant of all *Blackfoot* religious ceremonies. So I am afraid that I
shall have to view this documentary evidence of the Chief's new
religious status in a common light with the figure-painted chunk of
animal hide which is given (sold, rather, unless you happen to be a
big-shot politician) to Whites as official documentation of their
"adoption" by the Blackfoot Indian Tribe.

794 The Chief believes (as do I) that worship of the Almighty should
797 bring people closer together, not drive them further apart. The
Chief will participate in Christian religious services in the same
791 spirit of syncretism with which a tolerant Christian will attend an
Indian Medicine Lodge, and it is important to be aware that this
does not imply that there is anything in his religious attitude which
suggests either hypocrisy or indulgence. The Chief does genuinely
accept the Christian concept, but he does not feel it necessary to
abandon his own traditional beliefs in order to do so. Membership
in one religious body does not dissuade him from accepting mem-
bership amongst yet another denominational group—not any more
than the fact of my already having a White father had any effect
upon the Chief's adopting me as his own son. The Chief accepts the
New as a complement to the *Old*, not as a replacement of it, and his
religious philosophy thus derives from a blending—a concrescence,
so to speak, and hence an enrichment—of the many separate ways in
which man searches for a closer relationship both to God and to his
fellowman.

175 Interestingly enough, the precursor of Christian missionary enter-
797 prise amongst the Blackfoots was himself an American Indian. Ig-
nace Lamoose, an Iroquois who had attended the Jesuit Mission of
Caughnawaga, near Montreal, Canada, was attempting to introduce
the elements of Christianity among the Salish (Flatheads) as early
as 1830. Old Ignace eventually was killed by the Sioux, but not
before his efforts had paved the way for the founding among the
Flatheads of the first Roman Catholic mission in the Great North-
west. The mission was inaugurated by the famous Father Jean
Pierre DeSmet and two assistants, and according to Jesuit records
it was at this mission, on Christmas Day, 1841, that the first Black-

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the frontier struggle for survival. But the Indians have been leading a rough existence for a much longer time than the Whites, and their humor has mellowed to a gentler flavor (although I am told that the good ladies—*as usual*—can spin some pretty curly yarns). 522

Indians are especially fond of linguistic humor, including puns and quidproquo jokes, and Joe Scabby Robe immediately seized upon the moment of Jim's effort to tell me one:

"Once a White man was hunting elk with a Blackfoot guide, and when the White man saw an Elk on a far-away ridge he raised up his gun to shoot. But the elk was too far away to shoot at yet, so the Blackfoot Indian he said, *'Kick-kah, kick-kah.' You* know that *'Kick-kah'* means 'wait' in the Blackfoot language, but that White hunter he didn't know that, so he says to that Indian, 'Kick 'im hell! I'm goin' shoot him.'"

As Jimmy and Joe and I stood chatting, several people came up and asked to be introduced to me (Jimmy says that I am getting to be quite well known on the Reservation, especially among the old-timers). Finally there approached an older woman whom Jimmy introduced as Mary Ground, the lady that was sponsoring the Pipe Dance. Mary Ground has a rather light skin, gray-blue eyes, and she speaks flawless English. Despite her being dressed in a fine Indian costume, with beautifully beaded, shin-length moccasins of smoked buckskin, I thought at first that she must be White or of mixed blood. I still do not know for certain, but I soon learned that Mrs. Ground speaks Blackfoot beautifully, enunciating all the difficult Blackfoot sounds with a clarity that was a revelation to me. Especially interesting was her articulation of the alveolar nasal semivowel [n], which in the Chief's idiolect is sometimes indistinguishable from the lateral alveolar semivowel or bilateral continuant [l]. 122 123 [194]

After a brief chat, Mrs. Ground said that the Pipe Dance ceremony would not start for about another hour, so Jim said, "Shit, I'll had me little nap," and he went to the station wagon, slumped down in the front seat, pulled his hat down over his eyes and went to sleep. Mary went back inside the house; the Chief was already inside, talking with some friends; Mrs. Scabby Robe had taken the child to the outhouse, and this left Joe and I on our own. This was fine with me, because Joe was an eager and knowledgeable source of local color and information and in talking with him about Indian religious beliefs I became more than ever impressed with the tolerant and unhypocritical way in which the Blackfoot Indian finds room within the framework of his philosophy for both the Christian dogma and his own spiritual inheritance. 122 122 177 177

122 771 177 [787] [796] Christian dogma and his own spiritual inheritance. Joe told me of the time that a sixteen-year-old Indian girl had seen a vision of the Virgin Mary. The Virgin had asked the girl to sponsor a Sun Dance (an Indian religious ceremony) at a certain time and place, promising that Jesus would attend the ceremony. So the Sun Dance was held, and afterward, in solid rock, were found the footprints of Jesus, showing where he had stood during the ceremony.

122 764 Our religious discussion finally led into a discussion of Indian burials, and Joe Scabby Robe turned and pointed south, across the creek, to a high pine bluff about two miles away. "You see that pine bluff?" he said. "Just below the ridge, in that open place among the pines? You see that little house up there?"

Now that he had pointed it out, I could see the house quite clearly.

"That's an Indian burial house. That's where old Earrings is buried." And Joe told me that a long time ago, before there was a road across this part of the Reservation, a man named Earrings had been returning from the Agency with supplies when he lost his way in a blizzard and froze to death. He was buried, in the Blackfoot [795] tradition, in a small house constructed especially for that purpose, with his personal belongings left lying close about him in case he should need them in the other life.

I asked Joe whether it would be all right for me to visit the burial house, and he said sure. He even told me how to get there ("You could go that way there, or either go that other way").

122 796 Most of the Pipe Dance guests had arrived now, although an occasional late arriving car or truck would still appear. The house was overflowing with people, and numerous children (Indian children invariably go where their parents go) raced in and out and around the house and visited the outhouse in two's and three's. Joe Scabby Robe went off to find his wife, and I set out to locate the Chief, entering the house by way of the back door which led directly into the big kitchen. The kitchen was crowded with women and children. Mary Ground was there, stirring a huge cauldron which boiled and bubbled on the large woodstove. Also on the stove-top was a two-gallon granite coffeepot. To the right of the kitchen was a small room containing a bed upon which several small children napped. Beyond the kitchen was the main room of the house. I could see the Chief and most of the other men in there, but since this was obviously the room in which the Pipe Dance was to be performed, I did not feel free to enter alone and without invitation.

As I stood uncertainly there in the kitchen, feeling rather like the